

COMMEMORATING THE 100TH ANNIVERSARY OF
DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN
THE UNITED STATES AND BULGARIA; AND
REGARDING THE MAN-MADE FAMINE THAT
OCCURRED IN UKRAINE IN 1932-1933

MARKUP
BEFORE THE
SUBCOMMITTEE ON EUROPE
OF THE
COMMITTEE ON
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

ONE HUNDRED EIGHTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

ON

H. Res. 355 and H. Res. 356

SEPTEMBER 9, 2003

Serial No. 108-46

Printed for the use of the Committee on International Relations



Available via the World Wide Web: http://www.house.gov/international_relations

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

89-266PDF

WASHINGTON : 2003

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office
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**COMMEMORATING THE 100TH ANNIVERSARY
OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN THE
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REGARDING THE MAN-MADE FAMINE THAT
OCCURRED IN UKRAINE IN 1932-1933**

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 9, 2003

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON EUROPE,
COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS,
Washington, DC.

The Subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 4 p.m., in Room 2172, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Doug Bereuter [Chairman of the Subcommittee] presiding.

Mr. BEREUTER. The Subcommittee will come to order. Pursuant to notice, I call up H. Res. 355, for purposes of markup. The Clerk will report the title.

The CLERK. H. Res. 355, commemorating the 100th anniversary of diplomatic relations between the United States and Bulgaria.

Mr. BEREUTER. Without objection, the resolution will be considered as read and open for amendment at any point.

[The resolution, H. Res. 355, follows:]

108TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. RES. 355

Commemorating the 100th anniversary of diplomatic relations between the
United States and Bulgaria.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SEPTEMBER 4, 2003

Mr. WILSON of South Carolina (for himself, Mr. BEREUTER, and Mrs. TAUSCHER) submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on International Relations

RESOLUTION

Commemorating the 100th anniversary of diplomatic
relations between the United States and Bulgaria.

Whereas the United States established diplomatic relations
with the Republic of Bulgaria on September 19, 1903;

Whereas the United States acknowledges the courage of the
Bulgarian people in deciding to pursue a free democratic
and independent Bulgaria and their steadfast persever-
ance in building a society based on the rule of law, re-
spect for human rights, and a free market economy;

Whereas Bulgaria has promoted stability in the Balkans by
rendering support to Operation Allied Force and Oper-
ation Joint Guardian led by the North Atlantic Treaty
Organization (NATO), and by providing peacekeeping
troops to Stabilisation Force in Bosnia and Herzegovina

(SFOR) in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and to Kosovo Force (KFOR) in Kosovo;

Whereas Bulgaria was among the very first countries to denounce terrorism and pledge active support to the United States in the fight against terrorism following the events of September 11, 2001;

Whereas Bulgaria provided overflight and basing rights at the town of Bourgas for Operation Enduring Freedom, representing the first stationing of foreign forces in Bulgaria since World War II, and Bulgaria deployed a nuclear, biological, and chemical protection detachment to Afghanistan as part of the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF);

Whereas Bulgaria has stood firmly by the United States in the cause of advancing freedom worldwide during its tenure as a non-permanent member of the United Nations Security Council;

Whereas Bulgaria agreed to each request of the United States and offered overflight and basing rights as well as transit of United States and coalition forces, and deployed a 500-man infantry battalion as part of a stabilization force in Iraq;

Whereas Bulgaria was recently invited to join NATO and has shown determination in enacting the continued reforms necessary to be a productive, contributing member of the Alliance;

Whereas Bulgaria strongly supports the strengthening of the trans-Atlantic link and considers it a basis for NATO unity and cooperation in countering new threats to global security; and

Whereas the Senate has recently given its consent with 96 votes to 0 for the ratification of the accession protocols of Bulgaria and six other aspirant countries from Central and Eastern Europe to NATO, thereby welcoming their contribution to common Euro-Atlantic security: Now, therefore, be it

1 *Resolved*, That the House of Representatives—

2 (1) commends the Republic Of Bulgaria for de-
3 veloping increasingly friendly and meaningful rela-
4 tions with the United States over the past 100
5 years;

6 (2) recognizes the continued contributions of
7 Bulgaria toward bringing peace, stability, and pros-
8 perity to the region of South Eastern Europe, in-
9 cluding its contributions to regional security and
10 democratic stability;

11 (3) salutes the willing cooperation of Bulgaria
12 and its increasingly vital role as a valuable ally in
13 the war against international terrorism; and

14 (4) encourages opportunities for greater co-
15 operation between the United States and Bulgaria in
16 the political, military, economic, and cultural
17 spheres.

○

Mr. BEREUTER. I would like to make a statement myself on the resolution and then turn to the Ranking Member and also Mr. Wilson, who is here.

The resolution before us commemorates the 100th anniversary of diplomatic relations between the United States and Bulgaria. I would like to commend Congressman Wilson of South Carolina for introducing this resolution. Mr. Wilson's efforts have been key in recognizing and promoting the important relationship between Bulgaria and the United States. On a personal basis I know how much he has had in the way of contact with Bulgarians even long before he came to Congress, and it has been a very salutary relationship for the Congress as well as for the gentleman, I am sure.

The United States established diplomatic relations with Bulgaria on September 19 of 1903. Since the fall of the Berlin Wall, Bulgaria has promoted stability and peace in southeastern Europe by supporting the NATO-led Operation Allied Force as well as Joint Guardian in the Balkans. Bulgaria has also provided peacekeeping forces to SFOR in Bosnia and KFOR in Kosovo.

After the tragedy of September 11, 2001, Bulgaria was among the very first countries to denounce terrorism and pledge active support to the United States in the fight against terrorism. Bulgaria has supported Operation Enduring Freedom and the International Security Assistance Force, ISAF, in Afghanistan. Bulgaria has supported coalition operations in Iraq and is presently providing 500 infantry soldiers to the Iraq stabilization force.

Bulgaria was invited to join NATO at the Prague Summit in November of last year and has stood firmly with the United States in the cause of advancing freedom worldwide during its present term as a nonpermanent member of the United Nations Security Council. Bulgaria has proven to be an active and contributing partner and ally, and this resolution affirms this important relationship on occasion of the 100th anniversary of United States-Bulgarian diplomatic relations.

I urge my colleagues to adopt this resolution, and I turn now to the distinguished Ranking Member, the gentleman from Florida, Mr. Wexler, for any comments he might have.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Bereuter follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE DOUG BEREUTER, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF NEBRASKA, AND CHAIRMAN, SUBCOMMITTEE ON EUROPE

H. RES. 355

The resolution before us commemorates the 100th anniversary of diplomatic relations between the United States and Bulgaria.

I would like to commend Congressman Wilson of South Carolina for introducing this resolution. Mr. Wilson's efforts have been key in recognizing and promoting the important relationship between Bulgaria and the United States.

The United States established diplomatic relations with Bulgaria on September 19, 1903.

Since the fall of the Berlin Wall, Bulgaria has promoted stability and peace in Southeast Europe by supporting the NATO-led "Operation Allied Force" as well as "Joint Guardian" in the Balkans. Bulgaria has also provided peacekeeping forces to SFOR in Bosnia and KFOR in Kosovo.

After the tragedy of September 11, 2001, Bulgaria was among the very first countries to denounce terrorism and pledge active support to the United States in the fight against terrorism.

Bulgaria has supported Operation Enduring Freedom and the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) in Afghanistan.

And, Bulgaria has supported coalition operations in Iraq, and is presently providing 500 infantry soldiers to the Iraq stabilization force.

Bulgaria was invited to join NATO at the Prague Summit in November of last year, and has stood firmly with the United States in the cause of advancing freedom worldwide during its present term as a non-permanent member of the United Nations Security Council.

Bulgaria has proven to be an active and contributing partner and "de facto" ally, and this resolution affirms this important relationship on occasion of the 100 anniversary of US-Bulgarian diplomatic relations.

I urge my colleagues to adopt this resolution.

Mr. WEXLER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I too want to congratulate the gentleman from South Carolina for taking the initiative and filing this important resolution, and I want to thank the Chairman for bringing this bill up.

As the Chairman stated, this resolution commemorates the 100th anniversary of diplomatic relations between the United States and Bulgaria. In addition, the resolution highlights the extraordinary achievements of the people of Bulgaria who have successfully pursued a course of democracy, human rights, and free market economy.

Mr. Chairman, the resolution before this Subcommittee today also attests to a robust and deepening United States-Bulgarian relationship. In the war against terror, as you have said, Mr. Chairman, Bulgaria has bravely stood shoulder to shoulder with the United States. As an important part of the International Security Assistance Force in Afghanistan, Bulgaria has deployed a nuclear, biological and chemical detachment unit and provided permission for overflight and basing rights for Operation Enduring Freedom. Bulgaria has also taken a leading role in assisting the United States in Iraq by deploying a 500-person infantry battalion as part of a stabilization force.

Over the past several years, Bulgaria has been a reliable ally and strategic partner of the United States. I am confident that the unprecedented cooperation between our two countries will continue to flourish in political, economic, military and cultural spheres. In the meantime I am hopeful that the Bush Administration will make every effort to support Bulgaria's EU aspirations and the full embrace of Euro-Atlantic integration. It is in this vein that I urge our colleagues to support this resolution recognizing America's historic relationship with Bulgaria and again thank the gentleman from South Carolina for taking the initiative.

Mr. BEREUTER. Thank you very much, Mr. Wexler, for your statement in support. I am now pleased to recognize for any comments he might like to make a statement from the gentleman from South Carolina, who is the original sponsor of the legislation. I recognize the gentleman for that purpose.

Mr. WILSON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and thank you, Mr. Ranking Member, also, of the Committee and I want to additionally thank both of you for being original co-sponsors of the resolution along with Congresswoman Ellen Tauscher, who is the Co-Chairman of the Bulgarian Caucus. Additionally, I want to thank Congressmen McCotter, Blumenauer, Lantos, Engel, Lee, and Burton, who additionally have signed on as co-sponsors of the resolution.

My association with the people of Bulgaria and, both of you expressed it so well, of how Bulgaria has become a strong ally of the United States, that it is strategically located in a very important part of southeastern Europe which makes it even more important to the people of the United States and to the security of all of Europe, and as a new member of NATO it is just extraordinary what this will mean for the security of Europe, the United States, and the people of Bulgaria. But I can make it very personal in that I established a relationship with the people of Bulgaria. In fact, in their first free elections that they have had for nearly 40 years, maybe 50 years, back on June 10, 1990, I was sent as an election observer with the International Republican Institute. Additionally, we of course had representatives of the National Democratic Institute, and we served as observers, seeing the end of the Communist era and the birth of the democratic era. It was so exciting for me. I have never had such an opportunity in my life. I was a member of the State Senate at that time, and it was just wonderful because I went to what had been identified correctly as the most slavish Soviet satellite existence, and what I found were people who wanted freedom, who were competent and talented. I found an environment in terms of an economy that I felt would take off, and indeed it has.

It has not been easy. The transition from totalitarianism to democracy has been difficult, but the people of Bulgaria are prepared, and I additionally have had the opportunity to visit the country as a participant in a sister city program that we have between Columbia, the capital city of South Carolina, and Plovdiv, the second largest city of Bulgaria. Additionally I have worked with the Free Congress Foundation to meet with the members of the National Assembly as they learned how to participate in a parliamentary democracy.

I have just had wonderful opportunities. I have had the opportunity to host at my home students, municipal leaders, members of the National Assembly. When I was elected to Congress, I immediately established a relationship with the very wonderful and positive Ambassador from the Republic of Bulgaria to the United States, Elena Poptodorova. She certainly reflects well on the people of Bulgaria. Very positive. I have stayed in touch with Stefan Stoyanov, who is the Ambassador from Bulgaria to Greece. He has been a dear friend of mine. I am so proud of what they have done in reestablishing a strong relationship with Greece, its neighbor, and additionally maintaining a very positive relationship and respect for the minorities with their relationship with the Republic of Turkey.

It is a real honor for me to again urge support for H. Res. 355, which commends Bulgaria for its efforts to promote democracy and commends them and recognizes the 100th anniversary of the relationship between the people of the United States and Bulgaria.

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Wilson, thank you so very much for your statement and the recitation of your personal involvement. We need to have someone like you that has that kind of relationship with all of the countries that have emerged from the Warsaw Pact and from the former world of communism.

I understand that there are no amendments to the resolution. So I would entertain a motion to report favorably the resolution to the Full Committee.

Mr. WEXLER. So moved.

Mr. BEREUTER. The gentleman from Florida makes such a motion.

The question occurs on the motion to report the resolution, H. Res. 355, favorably.

All in favor will say aye. Those opposed say no.

The motion is approved. The resolution is reported favorably.

The staff is directed to make any technical and conforming amendments.

Mr. WILSON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. BEREUTER. Thank you very much, Mr. Wilson. We look forward to the Full Committee markup and then action on the Floor under, we would hope, the Suspension Calendar.

Pursuant to notice I call up H. Res. 356, for purposes of markup. The Clerk will report the title.

The CLERK. Expressing the sense of the House of Representatives regarding the man-made famine that occurred in Ukraine in 1932–1933.

Mr. BEREUTER. Without objection, the resolution will be considered as read and open for amendment at any point.

[The resolution, H. Res. 356, follows:]

108TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. RES. 356

Expressing the sense of the House of Representatives regarding the man-made famine that occurred in Ukraine in 1932–1933.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SEPTEMBER 5, 2003

Mr. HYDE (for himself, Mr. SMITH of New Jersey, and Mr. LANTOS) submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on International Relations

RESOLUTION

Expressing the sense of the House of Representatives regarding the man-made famine that occurred in Ukraine in 1932–1933.

Whereas 2003 marks the 70th anniversary of the height of the famine in Ukraine that was deliberately initiated and enforced by the Soviet regime through the seizure of grain and the blockade of food shipments into the affected areas, as well as by forcibly preventing the starving population from leaving the region, for the purposes of eliminating resistance to the forced collectivization of agriculture and destroying Ukraine's national identity;

Whereas this man-made famine resulted in the deaths of at least 5,000,000 men, women, and children in Ukraine and an estimated 1–2 million people in other regions;

Whereas the famine took place in the most productive agricultural area of the former Soviet Union while foodstocks throughout the country remained sufficient to prevent the famine and while the Soviet regime continued to export large quantities of grain;

Whereas many Western observers with first-hand knowledge of the famine, including The New York Times correspondent Walter Duranty, who was awarded a Pulitzer Prize in 1932 for his reporting from the Soviet Union, knowingly and deliberately falsified their reports to cover up and refute evidence of the famine in order to suppress criticism of the Soviet regime;

Whereas Western observers and scholars who reported accurately on the existence of the famine were subjected to disparagement and criticism in the West for their reporting of the famine;

Whereas the Soviet regime and many scholars in the West continued to deny the existence of the famine until the collapse of the Soviet regime in 1991 resulted in many of its archives being made accessible, thereby making possible the documentation of the premeditated nature of the famine and its harsh enforcement;

Whereas the final report of the United States Government's Commission on the Ukraine Famine, established on December 13, 1985, concluded that the victims were "starved to death in a man-made famine" and that "Joseph Stalin and those around him committed genocide against Ukrainians in 1932-1933"; and

Whereas, although the Ukraine famine was one of the greatest losses of human life in the 20th century, it remains

insufficiently known in the United States and in the world: Now, therefore, be it

1 *Resolved*, That it is the sense of the House of Rep-
2 resentatives that—

3 (1) the millions of victims of the man-made
4 famine that occurred in Ukraine in 1932–1933
5 should be solemnly remembered and honored in the
6 70th year marking the height of the famine;

7 (2) this man-made famine was designed and
8 implemented by the Soviet regime as a deliberate act
9 of terror and mass murder against the Ukrainian
10 people;

11 (3) the decision of the Government of Ukraine
12 and the Verkhovna Rada (the Ukrainian parliament)
13 to give official recognition to the famine and its vic-
14 tims, as well as their efforts to secure greater inter-
15 national awareness and understanding of the famine,
16 should be supported; and

17 (4) the official recognition of the famine by the
18 Government of Ukraine and the Verkhovna Rada
19 represents a significant step in the reestablishment
20 of Ukraine’s national identity, the elimination of the
21 legacy of the Soviet dictatorship, and the advance-
22 ment of efforts to establish a democratic and free

12

4

- 1 Ukraine that is fully integrated into the Western
- 2 community of nations.

○

Mr. BEREUTER. I do have an opening statement and I want to express my support for H. Res. 356, expressing the sense of the House regarding the man-made famine of 1932 and 1933 in the Ukraine. I want to commend Chairman Hyde for introducing this legislation, and I want to also recognize Representative Sander Levin, who is the author of similar legislation, who has worked tirelessly over a number of years to keep to the events of this tragedy, to keep them fresh in our mind.

This marks the 70th anniversary of what many feel was one of the most tragic events of the 20th century. Few Americans know the story of this brutally oppressive policy inflicted on the people of Ukraine by the former Soviet regime of Joseph Stalin. Millions, some estimate between 5 and 7 million, Ukrainians died as a result of this famine in which the Soviet regime in an attempt to break the will of a proud people seized grain, blockaded food shipments from reaching the country, and prevented the starving population from leaving the region. As more and more information leaked out of the former Soviet Union about this tragic event, the United States Congress in 1985 established a Commission on the Ukraine Famine, to learn more about these events, to bring the man-made famine to the attention of the world, and to work to ensure that these kinds of tragedies never happen again in civilized society.

This resolution and the ones which preceded it are a product of the work of that commission. The resolution sends an important message that the Congress remembers the victims of this famine and reaffirms the need for all nations to respect human rights, the dignity of man and the rule of law.

I urge adoption of this resolution and I turn to the distinguishing Ranking Member, the gentleman from Florida, Mr. Wexler, for any statement he has.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Bereuter follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE DOUG BEREUTER, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF NEBRASKA, AND CHAIRMAN, SUBCOMMITTEE ON EUROPE

H. RES. 356

I rise in support of H. Res. 356, expressing the sense of the House regarding the man-made famine of 1932-33 in Ukraine. I want to commend Chairman Hyde for introducing this legislation. I also want to recognize Representative Sander Levin who is also the author of similar legislation and who has worked tirelessly over the years to keep to the events of this tragedy fresh in our memories.

This year marks the 70th anniversary of what many feel was one of the most tragic events of the 20th century.

Few Americans know the story of this brutally repressive policy inflicted on the people of Ukraine by the former Soviet regime of Joseph Stalin. Millions, some estimate between 5 and 7 million, Ukrainians died as a result of this famine in which the Soviet regime, in an attempt to break the will of a proud people, seized grain, blockaded food shipments from reaching that country and prevented the starving population from leaving the region.

As more and more information leaked out of the former Soviet Union about this tragic event, the U.S. Congress, in 1985, established a Commission on the Ukraine Famine, to learn more about these events, to bring the man-made famine to the attention of the world and to work to ensure that these kinds of tragedies never happened again in civilized society.

This resolution sends an important message that the Congress remembers the victims of this famine and reaffirms the need for all nations to respect human rights, the dignity of man and the rule of law.

I urge adoption of this resolution.

Mr. Wexler.

Mr. WEXLER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I too want to speak in support of House Resolution 356, which recognizes the 70th anniversary of the height of the Ukrainian famine of 1932–1933. As we have said, this famine was one of the 20th century's greatest humanitarian catastrophes. It was deliberately initiated and enforced by the former Soviet regime. The famine, which was man-made, was responsible for the deaths of millions of men, women and children.

As we reflect on this solemn occasion, I believe that it is incredibly important for this Congress to educate the American people and the international community about this tragic event and to remember the countless victims. I am hopeful that the anniversary of this tragedy in the Ukraine can serve as a reminder of how important it is for the United States today in 2003 to take a leading role in promoting democracy, human rights and freedom. We must recommit ourselves to ensuring that incidents like famine in Ukraine do not happen again and that all forms of intolerance and political repression are rejected.

Mr. Chairman, the occasion of this markup and its focus on the Ukraine is an opportunity for Congress to express its support for the efforts of the Ukrainian people who are struggling to promote democratic principles, a free market economy, and respect for human rights. I strongly believe we must encourage Ukraine to take difficult steps to achieve its goal of Euro-Atlantic integration. Stronger American-Ukrainian relations is in the mutual interest of both nations, and I hope our colleagues will join us in promoting this effort.

Thank you.

Mr. BEREUTER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Mr. Wexler, I understand you have no amendments so I would entertain a motion that the resolution be favorably reported to the Full Committee.

Mr. WEXLER. So moved.

Mr. BEREUTER. The question then occurs on the motion to report the resolution, H. Res. 356, favorably.

All in favor will say aye. All opposed no.

The motion is approved and the resolution reported favorably. The staff is directed to make any technical and conforming amendments.

I thank the gentleman for his assistance today in moving these two resolutions and look forward to his help and support when we take it to the Full Committee as quickly as possible.

There being no further business scheduled before this Subcommittee, the Subcommittee is adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 4:30 p.m., the Subcommittee was adjourned.]

